

of special types and very local in occurrence, come to be 431 distributed throughout the whole of this great territory? And how, again, are pigments and ochre—*miŋo*, (red), [317 *butällāk*, (yellow), and *raitpa*, a reddish-purple pigment 386] with a metallic sheen which is used especially for ceremonial purposes—which occur in deposits localised in certain clan territories, distributed throughout the whole area? Why are these pigments and other materials not guarded as jealously as the patterns in polychrome and retained in one area instead of being so widely dispersed?

Each individual in Arnhem Land is the centre of a great 192 ceremonial exchange cycle. A man calls the people of all 431 those groups to the east and north-east of himself, naming them from the class of *gerri* which characterise them, *kumur miwait*; those to the north *kumur muadāk* (*muadāk*, the generic name for all calico or fabric), to the south-west and south, *kumur kārīn* (inside), to the west and north-west, *kumur kājīrk*, and those to the south-east and east, *kumur djalk* (paperbark sheath used for *nāmbi lirra*—literally the “tooth” or head).

Kumur is really the breastbone or sternum, but a hill is 192 also *kumur* or *buku*, and *kumur* is used again to denote 431 direction, aspect, and hence, the quarters within the cere-572 monial exchange cycle. Each individual within this great cycle has friends of a type called *kumuryanna mārnda*, really “breast to breast those two”. This expression is used of friends who are partners, who stand opposite one another and exchange gifts or *gerri* within the exchange system, and between whom is carried out a life-long system of ceremonial exchange. These relationships, which go by the general title of *kumur mārnda*, are sometimes very complex, sometimes simple. Certain types of gifts characterise each of the groups (and indeed in at least two

192 instances, actually give their names to them³⁰). (See map
 431 No. 2.) A man who has relatives (*gurruto*) in groups in
 575 one direction (*kumur*) draws from that quarter, in the
 form of gifts, *gerri* (valuables), which he has an obligation
 to pass to relatives or friends in another group in the
 appropriate *kumur*. Although he received many presents,
 much *gerri*, in the course of each year, he does not hold
 these things for long but acts merely as a temporary
 custodian, a clearing house, and passes them on to satisfy
 the incessant demand for *wetj* (page 78), and to main-
 tain his status and prestige in the *kumuryänna märnda*
 relationship of the ceremonial exchange cycle.

431 Certain types of *gerri* are characteristic of each of these
kumur and the receipt of a gift from one direction sets up
 an obligation to reciprocate with *gerri* from another. So a
 series of obligations, each with its counter obligation, forms
 the mechanism by which *gerri* are passed for hundreds of
 miles, *always away from the direction in which they*
originated.

182 This ceremonial exchange provides the basis for a great
 431 cultural movement that has for its motive force the all-
 powerful "drive" rather than the obligations of mere econo-
 mic exchange, which although an important accompani-
 ment, is subservient to the ceremonial aspect. It is this

³⁰ *Kumur djalk*, applied to the people to the south and to *gerri*
 from that quarter (*kumur*), takes its name from *djalk*, the paper-
 bark sheath of *ñämbi lirra*, the most characteristic and important
 object derived from this quarter in the exchange system. *Kumur*
muadäk is named from *muadäk*, the collective term for the calico,
 wool and associated material which was introduced by the Macassar
 voyagers from this (northern) quarter and which, under the estab-
 lished system, passes to the south to *kumur djalk* and *kumur kärin*
 to satisfy the obligation for reciprocal gifts in return for *ñämbi*,
 boomerangs and other characteristic *gerri*.

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431 (2) *Kumur mhadak* comprises calico, tobacco, blankets,
[177] glass (the latter used for scrapers and highly valued in the
437] making of spears and other weapons), tomahawks, knives,
belts, smoking pipes and other *gerri* of the type which are
said formerly to have been obtained from the Macassars.

[182] To fill the demand for *wetj* (page 78), and under the incessant
554] obligations of the ceremonial exchange system, these *gerri*
are passed quickly to the southward—not so much under
the urge for economic barter, as to fulfil obligations set
up by the ceremonial exchange cycle and to gain the
prestige, which the ability to send *gerri* of this order confers
on the sender. For, while it will be seen that this fulfils a
definite economic function, its basis is primarily ceremonial.

(3) *Kumur katjirk*. A series of very characteristic *gerri*,
some of which differ considerably from those made in

[172] of the Macassar voyagers which brought iron to Arnhem Land long
[182] before, it was known in what later became the settled country of
431] the Roper River.

439] The most interesting feature of this southern movement of spears
is the fact that, today, when the position is reversed and when iron is
relatively scarce and difficult to obtain in Arnhem Land in contrast
with its abundance in the settled country of the Roper River valley,
the passage of fine iron spear heads from Blue Mud Bay, which was
developed under the impetus of the ceremonial exchange cycle,
stimulated by the coming of the Macassar voyagers, still continues,
although the practical need for it, the demand for iron spear heads
for actual use in the Roper River area, must have passed, or at
least must have been much reduced. The fact that the *economic*
need which it served has passed, stresses once more the strength
of the *ceremonial aspect* of the *kumur mardu* exchange cycle.

572] It must be remembered that partners within the ceremonial exchange
cycle exist of such long standing that they have even become
hereditary. These people send *gerri*, and these must be reciprocated
with presents of the type long established by tradition, whether they
seem appropriate or not.

from *kumar djalk*. But because of its known origin, a 431
nambi lirra (flint spear head) is always known as *kumar* [552]
djalk, and for this reason it would not be appropriate for
 a man to the north to pass *nambi lirra* as *wetj* to a partner
 in the south-east.

In order to understand the complicated system sur- 182
 rounding the exchange of gifts and the sharing of food and 431
 game it would be necessary to have not only a thorough 572
 working knowledge of the kinship system and the obliga- 602
 tions, unilateral and reciprocal, laid down by its terminology,
 but also to understand each of the special relationships
 which, in addition to those arising from kinship, may exist
 between members of the society.

To avoid further extending this account, I shall refer to 602
 one only of these special relationships. This is *tjukarno*, 601
 a term used reciprocally between individuals who stand
 in one of two relationships under the kinship system;
*wawamündji*⁴¹ (*wawa*, brother; *-mündji*, those two) or
marimündji, i.e. *mari* = *kutara*, (mother's mother's brother
 = sister's daughter's son). Where these people stand in the
 relationship of brother they are usually half-brothers, the sons
 of women who are sisters, especially of sisters who have
 married men of clans on opposite sides of their own clan
 territories. Another factor is that often the relationship
 of *tjukarno* has existed between the mothers—who are
 not full or half-sisters—for it may exist between
 women as well as men. A man extends the same term
 also to brothers and sisters of his *tjukarno*.

Tjukarno is a very special relationship, the closest and most 602
 permanent that can exist between men.

⁴¹ The suffix *-mündji* denotes mutual relationship together, i.e.
wawa-mündji, brothers together; *wawa* is really elder brother but is
 used in this connection to express the relationship between brothers.

159 you. You're not a man." This makes her quiet. I think sometimes if I did
 593 have a sweetheart I wouldn't tell her, because none of the other men do
 [837] when they have them.

159 When I was a young man, women were more careful and better than
 837 they are now. My brother, Badunga, is just starting to grow a mustache. This no-good woman we call the Mokoi [evil ghost] has already tried to seduce him. My brother was out hunting the other day with some other boys, and when he was a little bit away from them that Mokoi woman saw him. She was getting shells, away from the rest of the women. She is no longer a young woman. She has no children because she has copulated with too many men who were not her husbands. She sneaked up on him and talked very nice to him, but my brother Badunga did nothing and came away. He was afraid, and besides he did not like the woman.

159 Badunga told me. I went down to her husband's camp and told him.
 684 I called that Mokoi out and gave her a very hard beating. Her husband, who is my "half-father," did nothing. When I had finished he took a spear-thrower and started beating her too. All the people in the camp said that was very good and was what she needed.

159 Women before were different. They sat down more quiet than they do
 837 now. This one, who is now Dimala's wife, who used to be my sweetheart when I was a young boy, seduced one of the Ritarngo boys. He is too young. I said, "I don't know what is the matter with you women now. You are going after younger and younger boys all the time for sweethearts. I shall have to watch Mari-ma-leen and Pulli [his 18-months-old son and three-year-old boy], or you will have them out too. You are ruining our young men because you are teaching them to have too many women who don't belong to them. They won't sit quiet with their own wives when they have them because you women teach them another way. When we old men
 [836] were young, a man had one sweetheart and no more until he was married and had proper wives of his own."

159 If the sweetheart I had a long time ago would come to me now and
 572 ask for food I must give it to her. I would not have sexual relations with
 837 her now, because I am a married man and that would be wrong. When I go to her camp she gives me food. Her husband is a good man; he says to that woman, "Give Mahkarolla some food. He used to be your sweetheart." If he were no good and jealous, he would growl at the woman and tell her not to give me anything to eat. I haven't any sweethearts now. Dimala's wife used to be my sweetheart a long time ago. She likes me very much now. Sometimes she comes around and wants me to go out to the bush with her but I say, "No, I've got a wife. I have children." I will not "play" with another woman. I would get a baby (pages 74-92).